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tween husband and wife should stop as soon as the wife knows she is 843
pregnant, that is, when she ceases to have monthly periods. With a very 183
young wife who becomes pregnant before her first menses, intercourse
should stop when she first notes the physiological changes accompany-
ing pregnancy. In actual practice, however, a husband sometimes has
intercourse with his wife until the last month of pregnancy. This is
often true for young men who do not have second wives. Older men [915]
who have been able to afford a second wife—and they are in the mi-
nority—usually take up residence with the other woman. The result in
such polygynous families may be the birth of offspring to alternate
wives.

A woman works all through her pregnancy, often doing fairly heavy 843
field labor. It is recognized, however, that work which is too heavy may
produce miscarriages, so that women who want children are careful not
to overstrain themselves. Food preferences during pregnancy also are
recognized and indulged.

There is a series of prenatal taboos, knowledge and observance of
which vary greatly from individual to individual. They apply primarily
to the mother, but there are one or two applicable to the father as well.
For instance, a pregnant woman should not place a new pot on the fire,
because if it blackens, her child will be born with patches of darker
pigment. A pregnant woman should eat only the less desirable belly
portions of rats. If she eats the hind- and forequarters, her child's limbs
will spread at birth like those of a rat spitted for roasting. A man should
not straighten arrows during his wife's pregnancy, for the child would
then be born with eyes rolled to one side. However, after straightening
an arrow shaft the father can rub it on his wife's abdomen and the
child's eyes will straighten.

There are many such superstitions, but their weight and importance 854
seem no greater than comparable ones in our own society. It is worth 827
noting, however, that these prenatal influences indicate a sense of close
intimacy between children and parents and that often there are anti-
dotes for harmful acts. The sense of intimate physiological connection
between mother and child persists after birth, so that mothers who
were nursing sick infants came to me for medicine they could take in
order to cure their children. I could discover no parallel native medica-
tion, however.

When labor pains begin, the mother goes to the house of a kins- 844
woman if possible. If no kinswoman's house is near by, she may give
birth in her own home. Usually the husband is not present, merely as a
matter of good form, although there is no strict rule on this point. The

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593 two monogamous and apparently devoted middle-aged couples who,
[597] never having had children of their own, each adopted an orphan.

Before we can weave all these sexual attitudes into some sort of functional coherence, a few comments must be made on the subject of jealousy. That men are jealous of their wives' behavior both before and after marriage is obvious from what has already been said. Adultery is
[644] punishable by death, although a husband is most often satisfied with a fine, and the male culprit usually moves away until the trouble is forgotten. The most extreme cases of male vengeance for adultery are to be found in the latter part of Malelaka's autobiography.

832 There are a number of devices for magically securing or keeping the love of a desired person. As might be anticipated, they all deal with food. A woman who wishes to keep the love of her husband can do so by putting into the bottom of the food pot shreds of her loincloth, clippings of pubic or axillary hair, or clippings of her nails. Certain plants too have the same effect. When the man breathes the steam of the food into which tiny bits of the proper plant have been dropped, he thinks thereafter of no one but the woman who cooked the food.

777 Men are supposed to know of certain roots, pieces of which, carried
832 in the bottom of their areca baskets, will give them luck both in wealth and in sex quests. Also, diamond- and lizard-shaped figures are cut by men from the crisp, thin sheath that grows out of some bamboo joints. These talismans (*tadialang*) are hung by a bit of string from the house eaves so that they wave in the wind. Their waving is supposed to beckon either women or wealth, depending on the wish expressed by the maker. Certainly never more clearly does the wealth, food, and sex linkage come out than in these love charms.

595 Jealousy on the part of women has direct cultural outlets and aggressive expression. When a man takes a second wife, for example, it is considered good form for the first one to quarrel about it. As might be expected, these quarrels are often phrased in terms of property. The first wife will ask how a man can afford to pay a bride-price on another woman when he has paid so little on her. Or she will claim that the pigs he has given for a second wife were in large part raised by herself, which may be true, and that she does not want them so disposed of. She does not have theoretic claim on flesh food, but in practice she may insist, quite rightly, on her interest in it.

After a few reproaches of this sort the first wife seeks out the second. They exchange insults for a time and then begin pulling, tugging, and beating at each other. Immediately all the women of the village become involved. Each wife has a certain number of belligerent allies, and in

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Each wife has a certain number of belligerent allies, and in addition there is always a large group of women who try to separate 595 the combatants but who manage in their role of peacemakers to land 579 some very effective blows. A whole village may be in a turmoil of struggling women waging a shifting warfare in the mud or dust of the dance place for as long as from two to four hours.

Men at such times are inclined to stand out of range and watch the tide of battle with mixed amusement and contempt. Sometimes a man may become indignant because he feels that the violence is going beyond bounds, that real injury may be done, and that he may be fined. If he is bold, he may step into the melee with a rattan switch and lay about him in an effort to separate enthusiastic combatants. Women usually resent this sort of interference, and as a rule the officious male is turned upon by recent enemies, who combine to drive him back to the fringe of spectators, where it is felt he belongs. A husband who is the cause of such an outburst either sits by passively, wearing an uneasy grin, or, if he is a man of particular dignity, goes off to another village or to his field until things calm down.

Naturally some battles may be much less violent than others, de- 595 pending on how much real jealousy motivates a woman utilizing this formal cultural outlet. More than once a senior wife who is in earnest makes life so uncomfortable that the junior wife finally insists on a divorce, but even a wife who has urged her husband to buy another woman will go through the forms of a quarrel. The only case in which the culture denies such expressions is in the inheritance of a widow through the levirate.

The effect of this cultural pattern is to afford women a very direct 562 and relatively harmless emotional outlet. It reminds one of the formal- 154 ized wailing required of them as an expression of grief that is denied men. In these two cases the culture grants more direct and recognized outlets to women than to men. It is not surprising, therefore, all other things considered, that men are apt to consider women, in comparison to themselves, somewhat vulgar creatures who do not know how to guard their tongues. It will be recalled that earlier there was occasion to refer to the training boys and men get in translating physical violence into verbal forms and in toning down verbal aggression on pain of financial sanctions. I know of no case in which women, or their kinsmen, were actually fined for verbal excesses, although such threats were made.

In the case of plural wives, separate households are established, and 595 a man is supposed to divide his attention, labor, and gifts equally among them. Any slight on his part may result in reproaches directed toward

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595 him and quarrels among the wives. A duty of the senior wife is to cook for the husband's guests *and* to take the initiative in contributing food to his feasts. The feasts are supposed to be held at the house of the senior wife. These duties may at times be considered in the light of a privilege and any infringement may be resented by her. At other times an infringement may make the second wife feel that she is imposed upon. For example, the tumukun's two wives, who had a long history of mutual hostility, once spent almost four hours shouting recriminations at each other on just this score. The senior wife precipitated the quarrel by harvesting a small patch of corn which the junior wife claimed. Their quarrel resolved itself into complaints on the part of the younger woman about the extra work and the consumption of her food involved in entertaining the tumukun's guests at her house; the older woman complained of favoritism and the extra attentions received by the second wife.

Not all wives retain an initial sense of hostility and jealousy. For instance there were two cases of older men with three wives each. In both cases the wives got along very well together and cooperated freely. It was generally recognized that they were good friends, although there had been the customary quarrels at first.

It is worth noting in this picture of jealousy that both men and women direct physical and verbal expressions of jealousy and anger primarily against other women. Men are less subject to open and violent attack on this score. This may constitute an unconscious expression of the fact that women, primarily as producers, are basically the most valued possession of the group. The structure of financial prestige built around the male may be compensatory in function.

POSITION OF WOMEN

542 From what has already been said it is evident that the power of women is far greater than a phrasing of their status in terms of finance would imply. In other words, their control of food gives them power over people but no prestige.

Women are also the pivots on which many of the financial transactions turn through the system of affinal exchange. A number of clues indicate men's dependency upon women. For example, I asked repeatedly of men at the time their wives were about to give birth, whether they would prefer a boy or a girl. The answer was invariably, [542] "Boys are good. They give our death feasts. But girls are also good. We get their bride-price."

[547] Another phenomenon that might possibly be interpreted as a recog-

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This was the time that Kapitan Jacob bought two wives in one day. [151] One night he was sleeping between his two wives, and I was sleeping on [312] the other side of one of them. In the middle of the night I woke up and [313] sat on the corn mullet to urinate. I was small and didn't know better. Kapitan Jacob woke up and spoke, saying, "Look, he has urinated on the mullet." He took hold of me and said he would cut off my ear. He got a knife. I was afraid and cried. Then he picked me up and fondled me and I was quiet.

My father bought one of Kapitan Jacob's two wives for him, the one who was called Fuimau. [Why?] Because my mother was Kapitan Jacob's full sister. At this time Kapitan Jacob came to stay with us. A little later he made two houses on the upper dance place of Dikimpe, [343] one to store corn in and one just to sleep in. At this time we lived in Maiyamelang with my older sister, Marsima, who had married there. But when Kapitan Jacob made these two houses, we went to live with him.

Once when the corn was young, I roasted three ears for the kapitan. When they were cooked I handed them to him, but as he reached for them I drew them away. I handed them again and drew them away. Then the kapitan grabbed me and tied a rope around my neck as though he were going to hang me. He said he was going to cut off my ears. I cried and cried.

Kapitan Jacob bought a lot of bananas. He held three out to me. He stood close to his horse and held the bananas out to me. When I came near to get the bananas, he grabbed me and held me under the horse's head. I cried. Then he gave me the bananas. I ate them and was quiet. Then he grabbed me again and put me on the horse's back. The horse started going, and I screamed and cried until finally the former chief of Lakawati lifted me off.

Once Kapitan Jacob rode his horse to Lakawati and back. He held [412] me on in front of him. When we got back he got off and left me on the horse. I cried, and the chief of Lakawati picked me off and set me on the ground, but I couldn't stand because my buttocks and legs were so sore.

I have already forgotten much. [Pause and interruption. I asked for his dreams on the preceding night.]

I dreamed I saw a large flat place like this one here, only it wasn't here in Atimelang; it was flatter. There was a mountain at its edge, the mountain on which Padalehi stands. A large, round stone like a ball dropped from the sky and struck the side of the mountain, but it